

A
S K E T C H

OF A

F A R C E,

THAT MAY BE ACTED DURING THE

PARLIAMENTARY RECESS

BY

HIS MAJESTY'S SERVANTS.

Nullum caruit exemplo nefas:

Senec. Hip.

*Extemplo quodcumque malo committitur, ipsi
Displicat auctori. Prima est hæc ultio, quod se
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
Gratia fallacis prætoris victrix urnam——*

Juv.

L O N D O N,

PRINTED FOR J. ALMON, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
PICCADILLY, 1779.

8 K E T C H

OF A

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THAT MAY BE AGED DURING THE

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Printed by

W. & A. G. Smith



LONDON

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REGENT-STREET, 1830.

[1]

A

SKETCH OF A FARCE.

ACT I.

SCENE, *Thatched-House Tavern.*

The Majority meet to celebrate the rising of Parliament.

Enter J— and R—.

R. HA! ha! ha!—Ha! ha! ha!

J. Mr. R—, you have never read Lord Chesterfield, upon the egregious folly and indecency of laughing.

R. No—yet I have effected with laughing, what his Lordship, with all his hypocrisy and dancing-master's accomplishments, could never attain. If

B

you'll

you'll pardon me, I'll tell you what I was laughing at.

J. One would think you were putting in practice some of his Lordship's lessons for the *first* time, by your ceremony.

R. Ha ! ha ! Faith, Mr. Secretary, I was laughing at you.

J. At me !

R. Aye, faith at you. I was thinking you are the first man, with so grave and jesuitical a face, that ever rose from a lord's second table to the post of secretary at ——. What a pity Winnington was not alive now.

J. Why Winnington ?

R. Because he was the best second-rate minister ever known, and would have been your best preceptor.

J. Pshaw, pshaw !—What do you mention such things for ? Because you are an advocate for buffoonery and laughter, you would have even bishops, and ministers of state always upon the giggle ; but such levity, Mr. R—, is inconsistent with the dignity of office—derogatory to the character of public men, and peculiarly unbecoming in times of such serious import as the present.

R. Ha,

R. Ha, ha, ha!—You are *toujours le même*. For my part, I should be apt to swear that Ld. Harcourt used to have you to his table after dinner, for the same reasons that Catholics have a crucifix in their bed-chamber, as a *memento mori*.

J. Mr. R—, you are profane—profane, upon my honour—You are positively inebriated with the emoluments of your office.

R. Were it double, I could spend it. I am rejoicing that the session is over, and intend drinking a couple gallons of claret to-day.

J. We have reason to rejoice; indeed, nothing but a man's loyalty to his sovereign would make him undergo the fatigue of office at this time, and endure the bickerings and abuse of the minority. However, their baitings don't lessen the purple of your cheeks.

R. Nothing will affect me, but a reduction of his majesty's forces. Ha, ha!

J. The situation of affairs is such, that you need have no fears about it.

R. I indulge no chimeras—instead of lessening our forces, we ought to enlist every batchelor, put a musquet into his hands, and transport him to America. Don't all the generals say, we can do nothing, without a force of forty thousand men there.

7. Some generals indeed have presumed to give opinions directly contrary to administration, and pretend to know as much of America, from a few months parading in New-York and Philadelphia, as the whole cabinet, with all our intelligence from spies, maps of places, soundings of brooks, &c. But, Mr. R—, they will repent of their temerarious assertions; instead of having a command in his majesty's service, they may go and solicit a regiment of city militia—They mistook, if they thought military fame and honour were to be acquired by indulging the prejudices of the house; a soldier's laurels are in the hands of us only. But I do not despair, *even yet*, of negotiating a peace with Spain, and then America must yield.

R. That's a pleasing idea, but I am afraid rather a Parnassian one—the time for that is past—had N— taken my advice, and had sent an army with generals of mettle, on the first breaking out of the rebellion, they would have been good subjects by this time; but now, they'll refuse being even our allies. The opposition made them rebels, our detachments made them soldiers, and France has stamped on them the consequence of an empire.

7. Too melancholy a truth, indeed! but from the regulations I have had the honour of introducing since my appointment to my present post, and some
others

others I have in view, our army will be on as respectable a footing, as the Emperor of Germany's — A fleet to be sure is our best defence against a foreign enemy, but an army, an army, Mr. R—, ought to be the greatest glory of a monarch, it being the strongest security to his throne, and the noblest appendage of royalty!

R. True, my dear Mr. Secretary; I agree in every word with you—'Gad, here's the — whom the poet says, "treachery dares not trust," yet bids fair to be the keeper of the king's conscience.

Enter the A— G—.

A. G. Mr. R—, your most obedient—My dear Mr. Secretary, I have the honour to kiss your hand.

R. And would his —, if you could get any thing by it. *[Aside.]*

J. Mr. R— and I have been chatting upon the present state of affairs.

[The A— G— goes and looks behind the screen and into the closet.]

J. Are you in want of the — —, Mr. A— G—?

A. G. No—no—necessary caution only—The minority know we dine here to-day, and it is not unlikely that they may bribe one of the servants to conceal some of them in a closet, or behind the
screen,

skreen, with a view of hearing our conversation, and coming at state secrets. You may smile, Mr. R—, but I never speak but before I know whom.

R. You have nothing to fear, speak before whom you will, for you never speak your *mind*.

A. G. A person, with a modest diffidence of his judgment, will always speak under the reserve of a future revision.

R. A saving clause for treachery, and a sure way of getting to the woofsack, either in a whig or tory administration.

A. G. Mr. R—, my experience in the world has taught me, that there is as much duplicity under the mask of openness and a rough behaviour, as under a grave deportment—it is indeed not so general as the latter, but it is more successful. How far you may be considered as a proof of the justness of the remark, I don't presume; but give me leave to observe to you, that it is illiberal to conclude hypocrisy to be the characteristic of men, who merely from the seriousness of their vocation, contract a sedateness of features.

J. My dear Mr. A— G—, I'm very glad you are come to take up the cudgels with him; he has been calling me a jesuit, because I have not so ruddy a complexion as himself, nor so much of a Falstaff's corporation.

R. Lord

R. Lord — shall argue the case with you. Mr. A— G—, he has proofs in his possession. As to J—, I must not quarrel with him; because he has an augmentation of the army in view.

Enter Sir G— C—.

Sir G. God be praised, the day of rising is come at last! Such fagging, worrying, and baiting as I've undergone for these six months past is enough to make a mummy of Hercules.

R. Damn'd troublesome sessions this has been indeed! C— F—'s tongue runs as if 'twere always taking physic; and the energetic thump of B—'s hat and heel, though scarcely loud enough to wake Lord N—, has frequently given me a worse head ach than a hog'shead of port could.

Sir G. Ha, ha! we have made it out pretty well on the whole. By giving them a vote of thanks to their admiral, for preventing a defeat of his squadron, and by indulging them in enquiries, where the truth could not be got at, and giving them accounts and papers that wanted a cabinet decypherer to explain, we have got seven millions, a vote of credit for another, protected L— S—, spirited up G—, defeated their plans to ruin administration,

ministration, so we may now sing *Te Deum* in full chorus.

R. Ha, ha ! well done Sir G— ; when the present treasury-bench is broke up, you shall be appointed historiographer of parliament, and publish the triumphs and victories of the present over — —.

Sir G. You love a joke at the treasury drudge. Is my Lord N— come ?

R. He's at St. James's, getting the promise of a reversion for a child in embryo. He's a family man, you know ; as such, family honours, family views, are the primary objects of his pursuits.

Sir G. Wit like, R—, you spare neither friends nor foes.

R. There's not the reversion of a place, from the head of the treasury to the tide-waiters at the customs, that will not be entailed on the family of the —.

Sir G. Every subject should rejoice at the favours bestowed upon his Lordship, as nothing can more strongly mark the amiable mind of our Sovereign, than rewarding the services of a faithful minister.

R. Hold—between ourselves, the point that he has most faithfully adhered to, is that which was the shade in old Marlborough's character.

Sir G. Do you mean a prudent attention to
his

his domestic affairs? If you do, he is to be commended by every man. You must allow, he merits all the distinction that has been paid him; as Marlborough never laboured more in the field for his country, than he has in the cabinet.

R. But very different success attended their labours. The one made Britain the terror of France, the other has sunk her into contempt; the one raised himself and family on the successes of his country, the other, on the ruins. Therefore, compare no N— with Marlboroughs, unless you mean to compare their vices, or exhibit as great a caricature, as comparing Keppel's victory with Hawke's.

Sir G. You begin to expect a change of administration, and wish to recommend yourself, hey, R——?

R. My private sentiments are no novelty to you. I am for maintaining the sovereignty of this kingdom over America, even at the hazard of the empire. I differ from N— only in the method of prosecuting the war. In the first instance, instead of sending out commanders, with their hearts bound to America by family alliances, and then others, that were wishing to be well with the minority, at the same time were offering their services

to administration, disregarding their pretensions on the score of fame, I would not have trusted them under such inauspicious circumstances; but have sent out men of the same zeal and principles with myself, and then our hope of subduing them had not been vain. Now, we have made man, woman, and boy soldiers, and having lost the opportunity of subjugating them by arms, have been obliged to condescend to treat with rebels as with friends, and have had the mortification to see our terms rejected with the spirit of conquerors;—nay, with all the contempt and indignation that the meanness of the commission could inspire.

Sir G. But, my dear friend, this cannot be attributed to him.

R. You well know, that every kingdom is governed by party, and all parties are slaves to a particular person. The different forms of government are chimerical, fit only to amuse speculative men, or to flatter either a monarch, nobles, or the people. Point me out a period of history, that does not prove the minister either to have been a slave to the prince, the prince to the minister, or the people to a particular person.

Sir G. I never trouble my head about fantastical enquiries of past governments. Lord N— has but

one voice in the cabinet, and ought but to share his proportionable part of the honour or ignominy of their decrees.

R. Speaking of him I include the rest. His timidity, and half-concerted plans have brought us into so contemptible a situation, that we are lost in the scale of Europe. And I again say, L— N— is no more fit to conduct a war, than C— F— is to be at the head of the treasury—he wants the firmness and stability of mind that marks a great character, the spirit and exertion, without which the most able plans prove abortive.

Sir G. Egad! *R—*, if you hold this language in public, you will not long hold the lucrative employment of P— G— of the forces.

R. The pillars I rest on are too strong to be shaken by the grasping hand of any minister. I have no doubt, though some say indolence is his characteristic, that he could find time to perform the duties of my office, amidst the laborious employment of premier, first lord of the treasury, chancellor of the exchequer, governor of the Cinque Ports, and the fatiguing business of soliciting the reversion of sinecures.

Enter Lord S—— and Lord M——.

S. Since we have defeated opposition this session, I shall not fear meeting them next ; the navy will be in such a state, as to compel the faction to admit my diligence and attention. The most discerning seaman's eye cannot find a rotten plank, or a rope wanting in the whole fleet.

M. You might as soon expect a Presbyterian to admit the infallibility of the Pope, as opposition to allow any merit in administration. *D—*, the sons of *b—*, they think ships are to be put together like Marybone houses. By *G—* ! I wish they were all blown in a fire ship to hell at once—What with their *d—* enquiries into the state of the navy, and and whether every pensioner's shirt covers his *a—* or no, and other interrogatories, parliament is as bad as an inquisition to men in office.

S. Though the enquiry into Greenwich Hospital has given me some trouble, I am happy it was gone into, as it has proved me disinterested, where I had the greatest power to be otherwise.

M. We knew how 'twould end, from the beginning. It has gone more to damn the faction than any thing. *R—*, and his gang, looked as down after it, as thieves before the gallows.

S. By the assistance of the C—, I have frustrated all their personal attacks against me.

M. T— is a man after my own heart ; he is not to be frightened or awed by the glare of heraldry— He keeps them in order. D— me, he understands it as though he had been nursed in the house from his infancy ; and as to their talking of breeding, they are no more to be compared to him, than Dutch boors are to a dancing master.

S. He is the only man fit for the place at this time ; he is a breast-work, as it were, to the ministers in that house. If our commanders, M—, be as active as we have been, and our negotiation with Spain succeed, we shall be able to meet the house with confidence ; and the disgrace of our fleet in 1778, be wiped away in the achievements of the present year.

M. It was wrong to trust the command to a minority man ; I'll maintain it against a court-martial of heaven, that we had a fleet sufficient to have sunk D'Orvilliers and Chartres to hell. Had I had the command——

S. There's unanimity amongst our present commanders, they are all friends with administration, and to their country, so we may not despair of seeing a Gazette in the Hawke stile,

Enter

Enter a Servant.

Serv. My Lords, dinner waits.

S. Are they all come?

Serv. Yes, my Lord,

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE, *the Majority at dinner—After dinner L—
N— drinks*

The King, with three huzzas,

The Queen and royal family.

Success to his Majesty's forces.

Unanimity in parliament.

M. I was going to say — to parliaments in general.

N. Though I have felt the venom of their tongues, yet parliament is such a security and shield to administration, that no minister would be able to keep his seat twelve months in this country, without the support of parliament. Their use to a minister is greater than imagined. The conducting so great a body gives a flattering idea of a minister to his prince, and secures him the royal favour. It unites the interest of ministers with kings, and by a proper power over them, he may effect that, which even in the most arbitrary country he dare not attempt.

R. No

R. No one understands the use of parliaments better than your Lordship.

S. They are the best security against the fickleness of sovereigns, and the power of factions in the world.

The C. A parliament is the hobby horse of this country, and the fetters they rivet are not felt. The nature of hobby-horses, you know.

Enter B—. Speaks to Lord N— aside.

N. Is he dead?

B. His physicians say, he can't live out the night.

N. Keep it a secret. W—, wants the appointment for a friend of his. I'll to the queen's house directly, and get the promise. Gentlemen, excuse me, a little business requires my immediate attendance—should I not return, you'll pardon me.

[Exit N— and B—.

[Some of the members, at the lower end of the table, pushing the bottle about briskly, and talking loud, are called to order by the C—.

The C. Order—order, gentlemen—A song from L— S—.

SONG.

S O N G.

I.

Though three campaigns are slipp'd away,
And nothing done, the people say,
Yet we will do before we've done,
What shall surprize them ev'ry one,
In spite of fate and faction!

The rebels soon we will let know,
That Britain yet can strike a blow,
That Congress, and Monfieurs shall rue,
And Spaniards, since they've join'd them too,
Which shall give satisfaction.

II.

Although the patriots stamp and swear,
And gen'als join them, and declare
We ne'er the rebels can bring down,
By them they're held in such renown,
We laugh to see them sputter.
We well know why they rave and scold,
At men, whose seats they want to hold,
Because they cannot bring about
The change they hop'd for by their rout,
To share the bread and butter.

III. But

III.

But, Oh ! what we will do ! we will do !

At least in a campaign or two,

Our commerce shall its fame regain,

Our fleets their empire still maintain,

And strike dumb the world with wonder !

Oh ! we will do before we've done,

What will surprize them every one !

That's what we will ; we will, we will,

Give the minority a pill,

And strike dumb the world with wonder !

[When they rise, the waiter brings the bill to Sir G.]

Sir G. Bring it to me at the T——, when I'm
making out the secret-service-money account.

END OF THE FIRST ACT.

D ACT

A C T II.

SCENE, *Lord N— and Sir G—.**N.* **W**HAT time did you break up?*Sir G.* At three this morning.*N.* Did they suspect any thing from my leaving them so suddenly?*Sir G.* No—Claret had banished suspicion from their minds.—*N.* His M—, considering the fatigues of my office, has been pleased to further reward my services, by promising me the place of — — for my youngest son.*Sir G.* His — is all liberality and goodness.*N.* He did it on the first solicitation, and so graciously, that he has drawn my heart nearer to him, than it was before, if possible. After such instances of favour, I must redouble my efforts, and persevere in the favourite object of government, the reduction of America—it must be subdued—The honour of this kingdom will not admit of our acknowledging the independence of the colonies.

Sir G. You know me, Sir, to be devoted to you by the strongest ties in nature. But do you not think we hazard too much in prosecuting this war?

N. I am sensible, G—, we stake almost the existence of the kingdom, and for the title of mere sovereignty: for if we were able to subdue them, we never can make them faithful and obedient subjects; they will be flying in the face of administration, in every *petite affaire*; but the — must be pleased at any rate, or we lose our power, and every man of us will be turned out.

Sir G. For God sake, my L—, let us then prosecute the war with vigour, whilst there's a shilling in the T—.

N. With you, I may throw off the reserve of a minister, and speak openly. The ill success of our plans hangs very heavy upon my mind. We are in a very critical situation. Government is weakened by parties, the opposition, though weak in the house, yet gives spirit and vigour to our enemies. The kingdom is borne down by the weight of its debts and taxes; and though I spoke of the facility of my raising the supplies of next year, I fear I shall meet with great difficulty—Eleven millions is the least that will be wanting.

Sir G. I attribute, my L—, the ill success of our plans entirely to the opposition. Could you bring about a coalition of parties, we should do more in one campaign with unanimity at home, than we shall be able to effect in six, in the present distracted state of government.

N. Coalition, Gray! there can be no coalition, without a division of power and places! and the restless spirit of the faction will not be contented with sharing the reins of government, but will want to engross the whole: and when they find it impossible to go on, fettered as the kingdom is with debt, and at the same time support their popularity, enquiries may be set on foot, impeachments follow; and when we are in the minority, we may tremble for our fate.

Sir G. Your L— has always acted under the sanction of parliament.

N. True; but though they have negatived every enquiry we wished, and have given their approbation to every measure of administration, yet another parliament, may condemn what this has approved. The papers, which on the pretext of reasons of state were withheld, may be brought to the world, with an intention to criminate us; and how far they may effect it, when we are deprived of
the

the assistance of a majority in parliament to explain them, God knows! The minority have always courted popularity; to preserve it, they will take every means of flattering the passions of the people, and we may fall a sacrifice to their indignation and resentment.

Sir G. Pardon me for differing with your Lordship; I see no personal danger to be apprehended from opposition being in power. 'Tis not the interest of any party to brand as it were the torch of persecution. Neither do the times require it. It is only when romantic ideas of public spirit and virtue prevail, that sacrifices to popular resentment are either politic or prudent. The refinement of the present age, has happily banished such troublesome and inconvenient ideas; that I am of the opinion, no minister need fear the fate of De Wit, were he even to dismember the empire, and overturn the constitution.

N. Your confidence in the national languor is too great, *C—*. The temper of the people is changed, but their ancient spirit may not be entirely extirpated. No kingdom was ever so burdened with debt—and though there are individuals rich, the nation collectively is poor—unable to support her present expenditure. We are gone too far to recede, and

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we have little prospect of success in going on—both appear to me equally dangerous.

Sir G. You Lordship indulges your sensibility and finer feelings too much—from the people, I apprehend no danger; dissipation has paved the way for any thing a minister and parliament pleases.

N. My only hope rests on the success of our overtures to Spain. I am to attend the council, on their answer to-day; their terms, though degrading, must be complied with.—Where are my papers? [Exit.]

Sir G. I am to his Lordship, as a dram to an old woman—He is quite low, though his M— has given him another two thousand a year. There may be some ground for his fears; however, if he be obliged to resign, they can't deprive him of his sinecures and reverfions.

SCENE, C—

L—ds N—, G—, W—, S—, &c. &c.

W. My Lords, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordships of my receiving answers from the court of Spain to our proposition for rescinding their rescript, and remaining neutral. I beg leave to lay them before your Lordships, for your

con-

consideration. They are the final determination of his court; and the only terms on which they will rescind their late manifesto. I need not, I hope, assure your Lordships of my remonstrating to him, on the dangerous consequence of foreign nations interfering in disputes between kingdoms and their colonies; nay, of the injustice of such a procedure, and the violation of the laws of nations in so doing. Their pretext, is their compact with France—This, my Lords, overweighs every argument that I have made use of. The proposals offered are such, that nothing but the *situation of administration* can warrant their being listened to. I need not tell your Lordships, that these are not times to stand upon punctilios of honour, or the very proposal of the terms is insult sufficient to warrant a declaration of war from a spirited kingdom. But whatever they are, it is my duty to lay them before your Lordships for your consideration. They are—the surrender of Gibraltar and Minorca, in their present state, to the crown of Spain for ever.—For which they pledge their public faith to rescind their late manifesto, and be neutral in our present war with France and America; unless any cause, not now existing, should hereafter arise, to make it necessary

necessary for them to act offensively, for the preservation of their own dominions, or honour.

My Lords, I found no difficulty in coming to a conference with C— D'A— on the terms of the surrender of Gibraltar and Minorca.—The advantages of those places are held by many to be merely ideal; and I don't know, upon mature consideration, balancing the expence and advantages, whether they are not; but the latitude the exception admits of, and may be taken in, deserves every possible attention from your Lordships. Whether you think the indefinite expression of the word honour, and the possibility of its being wrested to justify any future hostile proceeding, is ground sufficient to reject the proposals, or whether it be not of that consequence, your wisdom must determine.

The C. My Lords, I see no objection we can have, in acceding to the proposals; we ought, in our situation, to be happy to obtain their neutrality on any terms whatever, as the consequence must be fatal to administration, and in all probability to the kingdom, if they continue to act with France. Difficulties multiply fast upon us in the war we are at present engaged in; and if we had Spain to contend with, it would be impossible for us to stand against

against the three united. We must then of necessity abandon America ; we must withdraw our troops from thence, and leave the Congress in quiet possession of the government of the colonies. I will not dwell upon the consequences of such an event, from the pain it must give to your Lordships' feelings : but to sum up every thing in a word ; the triumphs of the opposition will be complete !—complete, my Lords !—complete !

Now, by acceding to the terms of the Spanish court, the troops that are at Gibraltar may be sent against the rebels ; the *ship* and *frigate* that are obliged to be stationed there, to preserve our right in the Mediterranean, may be likewise sent against America ; and I submit to your Lordships, whether, in the present declining state of the rebel faction there, she can stand against such a reinforcement. We well know, that they are not so formidable as represented. It may at first sight appear strange, that the officers who have been examined before the house, should give such a different account to that we are in possession of, but your surprise will cease, when you consider, that, though in America, they cannot, from the very nature of the service, have the knowledge

of administration.—To explain, my Lords; when an army is marching streight forwards, they can see what is in a direct line before them, but they cannot what is on the right or left. It is impossible, my Lords, impossible, unless they had eyes in their elbows. Equally is it impossible, for a general, on an expedition by night, and possibly a very dark night, to see the fortifications, or the state of defence of the places he passes, were he to pass them for a week together. My Lords, I would wager half my estate to a shilling, that a man might be rowed through London-bridge at night, for the month of December, and be no more able to count the number of piers than if he were asleep.

You well know, my Lords, that the situation of the country, and the subtle genius of the people, require the utmost exertion of skill in a general. If he fixes his eye upon a place, he cannot rush on to victory with the impetuosity that his zeal and ardour may inspire; whilst he is planning destruction to a city, he must appear to be partaking the pleasures of an assembly, and as entirely devoting himself to the softer sex, in order to lull the suspicion of the artful enemy; he must, as it were, move retrogradely, to get
for-

forwards ; and his victory will be obtained more by manœuvres than strength of arms.

Seeing then, how a general is obliged to disguise his movements, with what secrecy his expeditions must be conducted, and the artful enemy he has to combat, and that, though in America, he is deprived of the opportunity of investigating with certainty, the situation, force, and condition of the enemy, for the extent of his morning's ride unhappily is limited, seeing these, our surprise at the different opinions of officers, concerning the enemy, and carrying on the war, will cease. For my part, I must own, I fear the American Fabius, as they call Washington, has played a string of tricks upon our commanders, by sending men under the name of deserters, on purpose to give false accounts of his army and movements. There is a memorable instance, in the history of this country, of an army being diverted from spreading its conquest by a manœuvre of the enemy, putting boughs of trees into their hats, and thereby intimidating them almost in the moment of victory ; if a man, therefore, who has been honoured by posterity with the name of Conqueror, could be so deceived, as to take *sprigs of myrtle* for men, it is not hyperbolical to suppose, that a commander, even in this age, may mistake quick-

set hedges for fortifications, and the psalm singing of puritan congregations, for the roar and shouts of numerous armies.

Abstracting all ideas of wilful neglect, love of ease, and thirst of lucre, which some people maliciously think are inseparable from persons in high commands, we see the cause of the difference of evidence given to the world in the course of the enquiry into the conduct of the war, to the facts and knowledge that administration is in possession of. By a wise attention to the refugees, we have secured to ourselves authentic information of the state of America, her finances, her army and distresses. From the abilities and industry of the commissioners, the secrets of the Congress cabinet are open to us, their plans before us, and if any difficulty occur in the investigation of them, we can have a speedy explanation from some of the refugees. The authenticity of our intelligence cannot be doubted; and we have the happiness to know, that America is in a very distressed situation, unable to stand another campaign. If then our army be not diverted from the grand object of government, I have no doubt of seeing America at our feet. We, therefore, ought to come to the terms of Spain, be they what they will, or we shall

shall be under the necessity of withdrawing our forces from the continent, to protect our dominions in Europe.

Y. I must own, my Lords, that I never could account to myself for the difference in the intelligence given us by commanders, and that we receive through other means. I used to argue with myself, that men on the spot must certainly have good information, and the large sums for their secret service-money, warranted my opinion. On the other hand, I thought that men born in America, and living there from their infancy, must have naturally a thorough knowledge of the dispositions of the people, and the resources of the country; that from their connexions they must have a perfect knowledge of every thing material for administration to know. I could not possibly reconcile the different accounts we received; but the learned Lord has ingeniously traced the source of the erroneous opinions of some of our military men, and quite satisfied my mind about the matter.

I am of the same opinion with him, that we ought at all events to procure peace with Spain, not only on account of our inability to combat the combined powers of France, Spain, and America: but as it will inevitably oblige France to abandon her connexions with the rebels, who

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when left to themselves must inevitably fall. It will be, my Lords, as it were, an explosion of all their schemes to ruin this country; and will transmit the fame of administration for negotiation to posterity with honour. For my part, so conscious am I of the advantages it will be to this kingdom, that after a noble Lord, whom we must be all ambitious of imitating, who desired no other monument to transmit his fame to posterity, than having engraved on his tomb stone,

HERE LIES THE MAN WHO MADE THE
PEACE OF VERSAILLES.

So, my Lords, will it be the extent of my ambition, to have my name transmitted to posterity amongst the men, who by a mere negociation with Spain, thwarted the artful designs of France against this kingdom, crushed the rebel faction in America, and brought her, in the moment of exultation to the foot of the British throne, and thereby restored peace to England and its dominions.

G. No one more clearly sees the advantage of obtaining the neutrality of Spain, and the probable effect it will have in reducing our enemies,

mies, than I do; but I'm afraid there will be some difficulty attending it; popular clamour will be against us. In England, a man's tongue is not tied, and as it is not every one that can fathom the depth of state negotiations, they take up ideas by halves, and like a lawyer, who takes only one side of the question, is sure to have the cause in his favour till the other party replies, which opportunity we are in a great measure deprived of. The minority too, who are as merry as children at country dances, when any thing offers that they can cavil at, we may be assured will not be silent upon the business. They see every thing with a jaundiced eye, and 'tis their system to represent every thing different to administration. Though they are short sighted at seeing truths, they are quick at discovering errors, and their imagination is so continually brooding over them, that they think they see nothing else. So perverse are their judgments, and powerful their prejudices, that the very things we think most for the honour and good of the kingdom, they represent as directly contrary; and the facility that men find in spreading falsehood and defamation in this kingdom, is too flattering to them not persevere. We may expect them to
say,

say, 'Tis a new kind of politics for England to give up any part of her dominions to secure the rest; that formerly she relied on her internal strength, and was always able to check the ambition of her enemies, without bribing any of them into silence; that a cession of dominions is more inglorious than a defeat; that the fortress of Gibraltar is the main pillar to the British isle; and such like rant, joined to all the common-place abuse of administration.—How say you think they may disturb the internal peace of the kingdom, by their clamour and opposition, and whether they may raise us formidable enemies at home, and clog the wheels of government in the future operations against America, your Lordships' wisdom will determine. If you think we have nothing to fear from that quarter, nor from our sister kingdom, whom they have sedulously, and but too successfully, endeavoured to excite against administration, I shall be for acquiescing in the terms of the Spanish court.

S. As to the danger apprehended by my noble friend, I am happy to say it is merely ideal. No one has been more the object of minority persecution than myself; yet I am still first L— of the A—, a cabinet minister, and however unworthy.

thy of the honour, a favorite with the best of sovereigns. Their only weapons are their tongues, and their sting merely transient. My Lords, I speak from experience, their attacks are wholesome and profitable to a minister, and which no man would value undergoing, that was sensible of the great advantages and recommendations they were to — —. A beneficent sovereign, such as ours, will ever consider a persecuted faithful minister as an object of his favour and protection. My Lords, you must consider, that a parliamentary enquiry is not like a trial by a London jury, where much depends on the state of the case, the abilities of the counsel to explain, and a clear and satisfactory proof of facts; and after the most minute investigation 'tis ten to one that they don't entirely mistake the charge of the judge, and find for the plaintiff when they ought for the defendant: but, my Lords, there is no such danger in parliament; a minister may there rest his cause with safety, and confide in the sympathetic feelings of the house his honour, and be in no danger of the opinion of the woollack being mistaken. Parliamentary enquiries to a minister are like the fire to gold; they wipe away the suspicion of his enemies, and a vote of thanks transmits his name with lustre to the world.

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You

You all agree in the necessity of obtaining peace with of Spain; I concur in opinion with you, for the reasons that you severally have given. There is one advantage that I see from this treaty that has escaped your Lordships, that is, by ceding Gibraltar, we shall not be under the necessity of having a fleet in the Mediterranean—a great saving to this kingdom indeed! My Lords, I am really surpris'd, that in this age of philosophy and improvement, and in which the true principles of politics, trade, and government, are so well understood, that we should still retain such pompous ideas of the utility and advantage of Gibraltar, and the trade in the Mediterranean. For God's sake! what is our trade in the Mediterranean? A few Malaga raisins! What advantage Gibraltar? The friendship of the Moors, by which we get cabbages and fallads! It would be more advantageous to this kingdom, to cultivate a trade at Otaheite, than Gibraltar, Minorca, and Mahon are put together. The ladies of Otaheite have a partiality for our countrymen, as the learned president of the royal society can give evidence to you; they are fond of European manufactures, and are of that lively, gay disposition, so fond of gallantry and show, that their consumption of goods

goods from this country would make our gauze and ribband manufacturies the staple commodities of this kingdom. Besides, your Lordships all know, that on the least rumour of war, the opposition is crying out, why have you not a fleet in the Mediterranean? As if they were afraid of having no plumb pudding on a Christmas-day. By getting rid of this place, there will be an end of the Mediterranean theme; for having no rocks to protect in that part of the world, there certainly can be no occasion for ships to defend them.

The equivocal expression of the word honor, and the senses it may be taken in, I'll next consider. National honor, my Lords—national honor—hem! hem!—national honor is—is—national honor is—in truth, my Lords, I undertook to consider what I must own myself incapable of, for having never considered the etymology of national honor, I am unable to give a critical definition of it, therefore must leave it to the noble Lord with his papers, who has with so much honour to himself guided this kingdom, and protected its national honor these some years past. I should not be so much at a loss to explain an admiral's honour, or admiralty honour, or even court-martial honour, being within the line of my department, the other is *foreign* to it.

N. The post I have the honor to hold in administration being nominally the first, I am held by many to be responsible for every act of government; the satire of individuals, the odium of the people for any state transaction, are directed to me; this, my Lords, is a hardship which nothing but my attachment to my sovereign and country could enable me to support; for it is well known to your Lordships, that the profits of my post is not a fourth part of the paymaster-general of the forces. I don't, my Lords, speak with the least degree of envy, 'tis not my disposition—that place is filled by a gentleman, whose spirit and principles of magnanimity do honour to society and to himself; the idea but occurred to me on my rising, and I hope I shall stand acquitted of any interested view or personal reflection.

I have most seriously weighed the proposals of the court of Spain; the prospect they hold out to us of peace is pleasing, as it leaves us free to prosecute the American war, for which, if we can procure supplies, I have no doubt it will end happily and gloriously for this kingdom in a campaign or two, supposing France to abandon her invidious design of supporting the rebels, when she finds Spain willing to make peace with us. Indeed it is impossible she can prosecute the war unassisted by

by Spain, her finances being in a far worse state than ours; and the power of her ministry shaking from their defeats and losses. Though, it is true, that the losses of individuals do not immediately affect the state, yet after such a series of captures they have suffered, the murmurs of the people will reach the throne in defiance of the Bastile, which will certainly end in the dismissal of Sartine, and the extinction of the queen's faction, and then we have nothing to fear from that quarter. As has been rightly observed, securing the neutrality of Spain, we conquer France, and then America must fall of course.

With respect to the demands of the court of Spain, to consider them fairly, we must put ourselves in their places; 'tis the only equitable way of judging truly; she sees us engaged in a war at twelve hundred miles distant from the kingdom; the seat of our empire threatened with an invasion by a very formidable enemy, whom she is bound by family compact to support; and at the same time knows us torn by internal faction; from which circumstances she must conclude us an easy conquest, and such we certainly are; yet she makes proposals for relinquishing the chances of her conquests, for ceding Gibraltar and Minorca. The advantages arising from her
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neutrality, and the danger to be apprehended from her acting with our enemies, your Lordships clearly perceive. The only thing then remaining for consideration is, the price of the purchase, as it were, which can be known only by a due consideration of the real value the places are to us.

The noble lord of the ad— has gone very fully into the importance and advantages of Gibraltar, and has shewn, that the ideas of its consequence are erroneous; but there are some things his Lordship has not touched upon, and before we decide, it is necessary to give every particular the fullest investigation. Gibraltar has been looked upon as an object of consequence to us, as it prevents the junction of the French and Spanish fleet; true, it does, if we have a fleet in the Mediterranean; but you will please to consider, that a fleet able to prevent their junction, must be equal to both, being liable to be attacked both in front and rear, and destroyed between the fires of the two; thus our fleets run the hazard of meeting two great naval powers, and for what? The protection of Gibraltar!—whilst, perhaps, the Channel is undefended even by a single ship. It therefore plainly appears to me, that the advantages

tages arising from it are by no means adequate to the expence, and unable to answer the end generally held in view.

Another benefit said to arise from Gibraltar, is the respect it procures us from the Italian powers. I beg to ask, what have we to expect or fear from any of the Italian powers. Nothing, as I know of, except the Lords of Virtu being prevented importing some fresh manufactured antiquities, or ancient pictures, by modern masters.

As to Minorca, which your Lordship knows is not larger than one of our small counties, it is also far short of the value generally imagined: but let their consequences be what they may, they are not to be put in competition with those we shall receive from the neutrality of Spain at this critical juncture. Is Gibraltar and Minorca to be compared with the loss of America? which we must inevitably expect, if Spain acts with France. You cannot hesitate to determine.

But, my Lords, though so strikingly clear as the advantages of this treaty is to us, yet we may expect the roar of the populace against us—their prejudices are strong for keeping every muddy island they conquer; and I fear they will think, as my noble friend remarked, the ceding any part of our
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dominions more inglorious than a defeat. To combat these prejudices, and to prepare them for the change, I have employed some able pens to *write down the importance of Gibraltar*, and to diffuse such other publications as may be necessary to divert the attention, and amuse the people for a while—which by the help of a masquerade at Coxheath, and a *fête champêtre* at Warley Common (a Portsmouth regatta we can't have at this time) I have not the least doubt of quieting the murmurs of the people; and the successes of our forces in America, when we have gotten rid of the fears of Spain, will, I hope, enable us to meet parliament with confidence and glory, and entirely defeat our enemies. The list of the publications I have in my pocket—the first is,

The Use and Abuse of Gibraltar.

This, my Lord, is from the pen of a gentleman, who has rendered particular services to government. It is impossible to say any thing in recommendation of his abilities; they are above praise: for though he is destitute of the oratorical abilities necessary for his profession, he possesses all the casuistry of it, and is as able to write down the importance of Gibraltar,

braltar, as we have experienced him able to explain away the ideas of constitutional, personal, and natural liberty, and to encounter the doctrines of the political phoenix, and his associates Drs. Price, and Priestly. The next is;

The Investigation of the Rights of Women in a Letter to the Bishops.

This is adapted to that part of mankind, who from their birth and fortune, have influence in the world, and if not amused with novelty, may enter in politics, as they take their chocolate in the morning, and, like a monkey in a china closet, is always sure to do mischief. It is written also with a view to engage the attention, and please the softer sex, by shewing the laws of this kingdom concerning them, to be entirely unconstitutional, and not only asserting their right to recriminate upon their husbands, but proving the innocence of cuckoldom. Your Lordships, who consider the influence of the ladies over the hearts of men of every age, the number whose opinions they controul and govern, though not indeed their husbands, will see the utility of this publication. We are indebted for this elegant *jeu d'esprit* to a noble Earl, whom we have

found to be equally qualified for the most important negotiations, as the whole world, including the Congress themselves, must allow him to possess all the elegant qualifications for a master of the ceremonies. The other is,

Plan of a French Theatre.

A plan of a French theatre, at the time we are at war with the kingdom, is a novelty that cannot fail of pleasing; and if carried into execution, may have a happy effect. The ideas of conquest, that formerly prevailed in this kingdom, are happily exploded; and instead of thinking no victory worthy of their arms, that did not either burn, sink, or destroy the enemy, it is now satisfied with having defeated their views. This refinement is no less convenient to an administration, than it must be pleasing to commanders, as it softens the toils of war, and makes the service less dangerous and desperate. We are an example to the world, that a nation may be attempting to destroy its enemies with one arm, and at the same time supporting and encouraging them with the other; the liberal encouragement to French governesses, servants, milliners, and man-

mantua-makers, and buffoons, sufficiently prove the observation.

These, with a small artillery of other publications, will, I make no doubt, fully engage the attention of the people, and leave administration to pursue the services of government, undisturbed by faction and clamour.

My Lord — has left me to consider the extent of the term national honour. I beg leave to observe, that being no philologist, an accurate explanation must not be expected from me. It is impossible for me to do a thing that I have never *studied*, or bestowed any *attention* upon. For my part, I cannot apprehend any danger from having the latter part of the sentence in the treaty. They cannot, and it would be an insult to suppose, that it was inserted with a view to leave an opening for any future rupture. I am fully convinced of this, from the part Spain has acted during our dispute with France; they are bound by family compact to support her, yet for a long while forbore, and even at a time, when she must know our inability to combat them both with America. This is so striking a proof of her friendship, that it would be invidious to suspect her of any design. As to her insisting upon the treaty being worded in the manner

her before us, is easily accounted for. Spain, you well know, is the last place where Quixotism flourished ; their prejudices in its favour are not entirely rooted out, which may account for their fondness of the expression of the word *honour* ; but as to any reserved meaning in it, we may be assured they have none, no more than a modern fine gentleman at Boodles, or a sailor d——g his eyes in a storm. I therefore think it is for the advantage of the kingdom to accede to the proposals.

Lord —. Your Lordship's judgment weighs so greatly with us all, that whatever you think we agree to ; and in this business do heartily concur in your opinion, from the prospect it gives us of subduing France, and bringing America to the foot of administration.



F I N I S.

